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S O M E
O B S E R V A T I O N S

Upon a P A P E R, Intituled,

The L I S T.

That is,

Of those who Voted for and
againſt the E X C I S E - B I L L.



L O N D O N :

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SOME
OBSERVATIONS

Upon a PAPER, intituled,

The LIST.



S great Pains have been taken of late by certain Persons to disperse a Paper called, *The* LIST, I think it may be of

Use to the Publick to make some Observations, not only upon the said Paper, but likewise upon the Persons, who have been so very industrious in dispersing it.

This List gives you the Names of those Gentlemen in the House of Commons, who voted for and against the Excise Bill ; the Employments held by those, who voted for the Bill, are set down over against their Names ; yet the Author, for fear he should not be thoroughly understood, makes a *N.B.* that most of the Gentlemen, who were for the Question, are under visible Dependencies ; besides others, whom he supposes to be under some more secret Influences.

If there be any Meaning in this Paper, it must be to throw the greatest Reflection upon those Gentlemen who voted for the Bill, by insinuating, that they were influenced so to do, contrary to their Opinion, with a View to their Places. This is the first Intent of the Paper. The second plainly appears to be a Direction to the People of *England*, whom they

they are not to chuse to represent them in the next Parliament.

As to the first, it carries a very high Reflection upon the Majority of the House of Commons ; for it appears, that there was a Majority for the Bill in all the Questions that were put relating to it. This Insinuation asserts a Point contrary to the known Meaning, and Intention of the Law ; for the Law admits, that if a Member of the House of Commons accepts of an Employment, and thereby vacates his Seat in Parliament, he may (if his Country thinks fit) be re-elected, and hold both his Employment and his Seat in Parliament : If it had therefore been thought incompatible, that no honest Man could serve both his King and Country at the same Time in two different Stations, surely the Wisdom of the Legislature would not have authorized such a Practice.

I shall

I shall now take the Liberty to consider the second Point aimed at in this Paper, the Author's Advice to the People of *England*, whom they are not to chuse to be their Representatives in the next Parliament; and here lies the secret Venom and wicked Intention of this Author and his Abettors. No other Reason is assigned, why the Gentlemen marked in the List are to be excluded from the next Parliament, but because they voted for the Excise-Bill. I will suppose that they were mistaken in that Vote: Is this a reasonable and sufficient Cause why they are never to be admitted to sit in Parliament again? When a Member of the House of Commons is voted guilty of a criminal Fact, and expelled the House for the same, this Punishment never extends further than the Parliament he then sits in; he is not rendered by such

such a Vote incapable of sitting in any future Parliament.

No ; the Paper-Writer has more weighty Reasons for this his wholesome Advice to the Freeholders of *England*, such as will more effectually conduce to advance his Purposes. The true Reason why he would keep these Gentlemen out of all future Parliaments, is this : He knows very well that they will oppose all those wicked Designs, that he is engaged to carry on ; the first of which, and what he and his Friends are now labouring to effect, is to render the Administration odious, and thereby to raise Discontents, and Dissatisfactions in the People against the Government ; which Practice can tend to nothing but Confusion and Ruin.

He is sensible that these Gentlemen, at least they or their Ancestors, settled the Crown upon the present
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Royal Family ; that these are the Gentlemen, who, upon all Occasions, have shewed their Zeal to maintain and keep it there ; that these Gentlemen, or at least most of them, are sprung from those Families, who so bravely engaged, who ventured their Lives and Fortunes to rescue the Liberties of the People at the Revolution. These Gentlemen have been educated in the same Principles, and 'tis to be hoped will always tread in the Steps of their Ancestors ; yet these Gentlemen are to be excluded the next Parliament ! and why ? because they have supported and concurred in the Measures of the present Administration, which, notwithstanding all the Clamour that has been raised against it, has hitherto procured Peace and Happiness to this Nation : But still, I say, these Gentlemen must be excluded, in order to make room for others, who
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differ from them in their Way of thinking ; or otherwise my Author's Friends have but little Hopes of coming into Play ; and rather than not gain that Point, this Writer and his Adherents will run the Risk of a *Tory*, nay, of a *Jacobite* Parliament.

And here, my Fellow-Countrymen, permit me to lay before you the Designs of these Gentlemen, that you may the better guard against them. It is apparent, their Point is to destroy the present Ministry, if they can, and they want your Assistance to effect it. Their Intention, therefore, if they can prevail, is to engage you in their Measures ; in order thereunto, by their false Representations and Suggestions they would have you believe, that your Liberties and Properties are in eminent Danger ; that a Standing Army is kept up to destroy the Constitution, when a favourable Opportunity

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offers ;

offers ; that there is at all Times so much publick Money in the Exchequer, as will enable a wicked Minister to put such a Design in Execution ; and that every thing is to be feared from the daring Enterprizes of the Persons now at the Head of Affairs ; that you have but one Opportunity, therefore, left to save yourselves, and your Posterities, from utter Ruin ; and that is, the Choice you shall make of Members to represent you in the next Parliament.

The Author of this List tells you whom you are not to chuse ; and if his Advice is to be followed, your Choice is not great ; it will not then be very difficult to foresee, that it must necessarily turn out a *Tory* Parliament. Therefore let me exhort you, my Fellow-Countrymen, not to fall into any rash Engagements, that may endanger that Peace and Tranquillity you so happily

pily now enjoy. The present Cry is raised only to advance these Gentlemen into Power who are now out of Power : This is their single and sole Point. Their Disappointments upon that Head are the true Source of all their Discontent, and popular Clamour. Consider well, therefore, and be not misled ; do not engage in their Quarrels ; do your Duty to your King, and Country, and this Spirit of Discontent will soon shew how inconsiderable it is, and how fruitless the Attempts of that Party will prove.

The Contests at the Elections for the next Parliament will lie where they have hitherto done, between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*. These Gentlemen vainly flatter themselves, if they think, that they shall make any Figure upon that Occasion ; it will (if I am not much deceived) turn out the Reverse to their Expectations,

tations, and shew how little Credit they have with the People. I am of Opinion it will be found, that these pretended Patriots, these original *Whigs*, as they call themselves, will joyn with the *Tories* in all their Elections for the next Parliament. From what I have observed, I think it plainly appears, that the best that can be hoped for, from the Designs of this Author and his Adherents is, that their Force and utmost Endeavours will be employed towards the procuring a *Tory* Parliament.

I have now done with the List; but before I conclude this Paper, it will be necessary to make some few Observations upon the Persons, who are so industrious in the dispersing it. The Publishers of this List are the discontented Party; they make no Secret, that they have sent great Numbers of them to be dispersed amongst the Freeholders and Burgeesses all o-

ver the Nation ; they take all Opportunities of handing them about, where-ever they go, and they endeavour to give Weight to them, by raising Fears and Jealousies in the People, by such Arguments as these ; That the Minister (for they would have it understood that no other in the Administration, not the King himself, has the least Share of Power) is forming Designs to subvert the Constitution, and to govern by absolute Power : They give out, that this is evident by his endeavouring to invade the Liberties of the People under the specious Pretence of Law ; which Method, of all others (they say) is the most dangerous, as it is not so soon perceived, and gives the least Alarm ; that he knew this full well, and that therefore he was so solicitous to carry his Excise-Bill, which was intended for
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the Foundation of that arbitrary Government he is determined to erect.

When a People is become so pusillanimous and slavish, as not to know the Value of Liberty, but are ready and willing to give it up, they neither deserve to be saved, nor can be; but surely that is not, nor, I hope, ever will be the Case of the People of *England*. How absurd and ridiculous then is the above Reasoning? Are not all Acts of Arbitrary Power Acts against Law? Was it not always understood by our Ancestors, that when their Liberties were invaded, their Laws were invaded at the same Time? Did they ever apprehend that the Constitution was in Danger from the Laws they made? When those worthy Patriots fought for their Liberties, did they not contend for the Preservation of their Laws at the same Time?

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How then a Minister can propose, or what Scheme he can lay, to invade the Liberties of a People, and destroy their Constitution by Laws of their own making, wants the Explanation of these Gentlemen ; I believe it will be difficult to make any reasonable Man conceive it.

I shall say but one Word upon the grand Point, which these Gentlemen assert to have been designed for the Foundation of this pretended Scheme of Arbitrary Power, I mean the Excise-Bill. Although many Artifices were used by those concerned in the Frauds which this Bill designed to detect and prevent, in order to defeat it ; although Numbers of People were deluded by false Suggestions, and designed Misrepresentations (calculated purely to throw an Odium upon the Gentleman who brought it into the House) for many different private Reasons of their own ; although

though it carried some little specious Pretence, that it might in some small Degree obstruct the Commerce of those trading People who dealt in the Commodities mentioned in the Bill ; as what Act that ever was yet made for the publick Good, was not liable to some Objections of that Kind ? Yet considering the great Advantages that would have arisen to the Nation from this Bill ; how much the fair Trader would have been benefited by it (and whatever is a Benefit to the fair Trader, must of consequence be beneficial to Trade in general) how much the Planter of Tobacco in our Colonies would have been encouraged by it ; how great a Sum would have been saved for the Use of the Publick, whereby other burthensome Taxes might have been taken off, or at least prevented from being laid on ; surely so many salutary Considerations as these were
suffi-

sufficient to justify any Person in offering it to the Consideration of Parliament, notwithstanding all that was so artfully alledged against it.

But in what Particular this Bill (if it had passed into a Law) would have assisted a Minister to have laid the Foundation of Arbitrary Power, I am at a Loss to find out ; and I am the more so, because the Liberties of the Subject have remained unviolated for so many Years past ; during which Time Excise Laws have been in Force : And this Bill was calculated not only to mitigate the Rigour of those former Laws, but made such further Provision for the Security of the Subject, that I believe no impartial Man will say, but that the Liberties of the People are more exposed, and more liable to Insult, as the Law now stands, than they would have been, if this Bill had passed. It is for these Reasons only

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that I have said so much upon this Head.

But to return to my Gentlemen the Dispersers of this List. They say the Minister must be removed, and that immediately, or otherwise it will be too late ; for he is making very hasty and large Steps to secure his Point, by displacing those, who (he thinks) will not concur, and by bringing into Employments such as he judges will concur, in his Measures ; that it is absolutely necessary to open the Eyes of the King and the People, to shew the Minister in his proper Colours, and to prevent by that Means, if possible, his wicked Purposes : Therefore it is the Duty of every true *Englishman* to speak out and make the People sensible of the dangerous Situation they are in.

Besides several false, groundless, and malicious Insinuations, which they give out to raise an Opinion,
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that the Minister is laying a Scheme to govern by Arbitrary Power, they pitch principally upon these two Points, which, they assert, make it evidently appear, that that is his Design, *viz.* the Excise Bill that he attempted to carry last Session of Parliament, and the placing and displacing of Officers, in order to model both the Army and Court to his Mind.

I have already taken Notice of the first Charge against him; and I hope I have shewn, that it was neither a wicked nor an unreasonable Proposal to offer to Parliament, or that it could in any Manner of Shape tend to, or be a Foundation for the Exercise of Absolute Power. As to the second Charge against him, *viz.* the Placing and Displacing of Officers, let me say, that whenever it happens, that Men of Quality, of Fortune, and Abilities, fall under

the Displeasure of their Prince, every honest Man ought to be sorry for it : But it must at the same time be acknowledged, that the King may place or displace his Officers as he thinks fit, without a Breach of the Law, or invading the Liberties of the Subject. Every Master of a Family is at Liberty to chuse his Servants, to place and displace them as he thinks proper. It would be a little hard then, that the King should not have the same Privilege in that Respect, with the rest of his Subjects, that he should be the only Man in his Kingdom, whose Actions upon such an Occasion, must be canvassed and censured. As very few can possibly know the true Springs and Motives of the Actions of Princes, it is but decent, nay it is but common Justice to suppose, that when a Prince makes any Alterations in his Family, he has good and sufficient

Reasons

Reasons for what he does. But in what Manner and to what Purpose these Gentlemen can urge any Instances of that Kind (that may have happened) as a Proof, that the Minister is exercising an Arbitrary Power, I am at a Loss to see ; and I am apt to believe, that their Endeavours upon that Head to inflame, (which is apparently their Design) will have very little Weight with the People, since such Removals are then only terrifying when Arbitrary Power is first attempted, and they are made to facilitate its Birth and Progress.

Liberty and Property cannot be invaded, but such Invasion must be felt by Somebody ; Arbitrary Power cannot be exercised, but the Effects of it will immediately appear and give a general Alarm ; as we have many Instances thereof in the Reigns of our former Princes, which ended

ed not only in the Destruction of their Ministers, but proved fatal to themselves. So hard it is upon such Occasions to separate the Minister from the Prince. I defy the Malice of these Gentlemen to give any Instance of this Kind under the present Administration, or of any one Effort of lawless Power. Whose Liberty, Property, or the free Exercise of his Religion, is invaded? As the Enjoyment of these Blessings is the strongest Proof of a just and mild Government, let the World judge of the Designs of these Men, who, by false Representations of Things, endeavour to disturb the happy Situation the Nation is in.

But to answer these Gentlemen with respect to their Method of proceeding. How likely, or how probable is it that they shall attain what they give out is their Design, the removing the Minister by the Means
they

they are now making use of? Suppose their Assertions were true, and the Minister as wicked as they represent him; suppose they could raise the greatest Aversion to him, and could work the People up to the Rage and Fury they could wish; I would ask them, what Use they propose to make of it, and in what Manner it would answer their End? There is but one Use that I can see that can possibly be made of such a Scheme; which is, that when the People are thus worked up to Fury and Madness, it is not impossible, but that they may be transported to attempt some Act of Violence; and there is the more Reason to apprehend, that this may be the Consequence, from what has so lately happened.

It is not in the Power of the People, they have no Opportunities, they can make use of no Ways or
Means

Means to address the Throne for the Redress of Grievances, or to inform their Prince of the dangerous Situation that he and the Nation is brought to from the Councils of an evil Minister, but by their Representatives in Parliament. If therefore our Case be as desperate as these Gentlemen would have it believed to be, why have they not moved the Parliament to proceed in the known legal Method made use of by our Ancestors upon such Occasions against the wicked Ministers of their Times, I mean by Impeachment or Attainder? If the present Minister is guilty of those enormous Crimes, of which they accuse him, they cannot want Materials to make good their Charge; but if they have not thought fit to proceed by those Methods, which were generally attended with Success in former Days, they must give the World Leave to believe,

lieve, that their Accusations are groundless and malicious, and that they cannot make them good.

But to consider these Gentlemens Proceedings in any other Light, and what most naturally may be the Consequences thereof. They pretend great Duty to the King ; they give out, that it is for his Sake, that they are obliged to speak thus freely and boldly against his Minister ; that nothing is intended, or can possibly hurt the King, from the Measures that they are pursuing ; notwithstanding they are at the same time using their utmost Endeavours to raise Discontents and Dissatisfactions in the People against his Administration. They say that the Minister is only aimed at, and that he alone must answer for all Miscarriages.

Had they thought fit to have impeached or attainted him, in that Case to be sure he alone must have answered

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ed for his Actions, and the King would not have been involved in the general Discontent that they are raising. And I would ask these Gentlemen this single Question, Whether there is one amongst them, that believes, that this Odium, Discontent; and Disaffection that they are stirring up, will fall wholly upon the Minister ; and if they are sure, that no Part of it will reach the King ? For in such a general Charge as they openly make against all Parts of the Administration, it will be pretty difficult to separate the Minister from the King.

If then by these means a Flame should be raised in the People, whereby their Affections of Course must be alienated from the King, no body can say where it will stop, but every body may see, that the Confusion which it must necessarily occasion, is the most likely Step to favour

your the Interest of the Pretender ; yet these Gentlemen will venture all the Miseries that may fall upon the Nation from this their Conduct and Behaviour, rather than not satisfy their Revenge, or not raise themselves into Power ; an unhappy Spirit that has ever attended all free Governments, and has often occasioned the Ruin of them !

But Oh, my Fellow-Country-men, be not deluded by false Representations ; examine and consider the happy Situation you are in ; look back into History, and I believe it will not be found (put all Circumstances together) that the People of *England*, in any former Reign, ever possessed so many Blessings as they do under the present. Go through all Ranks of Men, and I think it will not be difficult to demonstrate, that every Man lives more comfortably than his Ancestor did. Most

of the Nobility are possessed of great Estates ; and their Body being now much more numerous than it was formerly, greater Numbers partake of the Privileges and Advantages of that high Station. I believe at no Time, there ever were so great Possessions in the Hands of the Gentry, or their Body so numerous. It is most evident, that our Merchants have attained, and daily are attaining great Riches ; by Means whereof they are become possessed of considerable landed Estates, and frequently rise to the Class of the lower, and some to that of the higher Nobility. The Tradesmen, and the Artificers shew their flourishing Condition by the Riches they gain in the Exercise of their respective Trades in Ten or Twelve Years Time, living all that Time beyond what may be properly called comfortably, and leaving considerable Fortunes at
their

their Deaths. The Farmer shews how much better a Situation he is in than his Ancestor was, by being able to pay a much higher Rent for the same Land that his Father or Grandfather held, and at the same time living in a more comfortable Manner, both with respect to the Feeding, Cloathing, and to the accommodating himself and his Family in their Habitations : Which last Article most Landholders must be sensible of, who have had for some Years past Farm-Houses to build, or repair. The Servant, and the Labourer, have greater Wages than was formerly paid to Men in their Rank ; wherefore it may be presumed that they are enabled to live more comfortably than their Predecessors.

This being the flourishing Condition of the Nation, let me add one very material Article more, the Benefit whereof all Ranks of People
most

most happily enjoy, at this present Hour, and which was wanting to their Ancestors, I mean the many good Laws that have been made since the Revolution, for the securing the Property, Liberty, and Lives of the Subject, against all Attempts of the Crown, too often made use of in former Reigns, under the Pretence of that unknown and unlimited Power called the Prerogative, now happily abolished.

If this, my Fellow-Countrymen, be your happy State, what have you further to ask or desire ? What ought to be your Study, and Endeavours, but by a dutiful Behaviour to your Prince carefully to preserve it, and to transmit it safe down to your Posterities ? But to our discontented Men, what can be said ? If Riches, Peace, and Plenty, with the full and uninterrupted Enjoyment of Liberty and Property, are now become the
Cause

Cause of murmuring, what can please
 such Men ? Sure their Lot will be
 like to that of the Children of *Israel*,
 who, whilst God scattered Food a-
 round their Tents, and fed them with
 Bread from Heaven, repined at his
 Goodness, were insensible of their
 own Happiness, and therefore justly
 drew down the wrathful Displeasure
 of God upon them.

F I N I S.







